6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Munduruc country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Munduruc territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Munduruc.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Munduruc villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Munduruc religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Munduruc as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Munduruc is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Munduruc was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Munduruc\u00fa were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Munduruc\u00fa were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Munduruc\u00fa, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Munduruc\u00fa informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabé*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[5] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabé* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Munduruc\u00fa informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibé, divided the Munduruc\u00fa into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Munduruc\u00fa were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Munduruc\u00fa word for the clan, *dïwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dïwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudïwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243-244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216-17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Munduruci, nor is shamanism
●428 the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many
562 societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may or practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

756 Munduruci informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of cooperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tapirapé,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Munduruci, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairi, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Munduruci shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of cooperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unrevealed power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans are some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective [988] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Munduruci men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Munduruci, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 139.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 73, 101.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejeuót*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihí* and *Bapuru* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrifocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ihí*, or *Bapuru* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Munduruc\u00fa who might happen to be in

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Munduruc\u00fa is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Munduruc\u00fa tribal integration in times past.

611 622 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is literally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 769 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important inheritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Munduruc\u00fa. A young man in search of a mate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Munduruc. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Munduruc shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Munduruc ú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Munduruc ú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Munduruc ú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

/26 cont./

241 602 431 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15)[134] It is for this reason that the Indian

2/4 [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]